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ПРЕЗИДЕНТУ США Д. КЕННЕДИ

Копия И.О. ГЕНЕРАЛЬНОГО СЕКРЕТАРЯ ООН У ТАНУ

Уважаемый г-н Президент,

Я с большим удовлетворением ознакомился с Вашим ответом г-ну Тану о том, чтобы принять меры с тем, чтобы исключить соприкосновение наших судов и тем самым избежать непоправимых роковых последствий. Этот разумный шаг с Вашей стороны укрепляет меня в том, что Вы проявляете заботу о сохранении мира, что я отмечаю с удовлетворением.

Я уже говорил, что наш народ, наше правительство и я лично, как Председатель Совета Министров, только и заботимся о том, чтобы развивалась наша страна и занимала бы достойное место среди всех народов мира в экономическом соревновании, в развитии культуры, искусства, повышении благосостояния народа. Это самое благородное и необходимое поприще для соревнования, и как победитель, так и побежденный в этом получают только лишь благо, потому что это - мир и увеличение средств, которыми живет и наслаждается человек.

Вы в своем заявлении высказались за то, что главная цель не только в том, чтобы договориться и принять меры для предотвращения соприкосновения наших судов и, следовательно, углубления кризиса, который может от такого соприкосновения высечь огонь военного конфликта, после чего уже всякие переговоры будут излишни, так как другие силы, другие законы начнут действовать - законы войны. Я согласен с Вами, что это только первый шаг. Главное - это надо нормализовать и стабилизировать положение мира между государствами, между народами.

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Ваша озабоченность о безопасности США мне понятна,

г-н Президент, потому что это первая обязанность президента. Но эти же вопросы и нас волнуют, эти же обязанности лежат и на мне, как на Председателе Совета Министров СССР. Вас обеспокоило то, что мы помогли Кубе оружием с целью укрепить ее обороноспособность, — именно обороноспособность, потому что не может Куба, какое бы оружие она ни имела, равняться с вами, так как величины это разные, тем более при современных средствах истребления. Наша цель была и есть — помочь Кубе и никто не может оспаривать гуманности наших побуждений, направленных на то, чтобы Куба могла мирно жить и развиваться, так, как хочет ее народ.

Вы хотите обезопасить свою страну, и это понятно. Но этого же хочет и Куба; все страны хотят себя обезопасить. Но как же нам, Советскому Союзу, нашему правительству оценивать ваши действия, которые выражаются в том, что вы окружили военными базами Советский Союз, окружили военными базами наших союзников, расположили военные базы буквально вокруг нашей страны, разместили там свое ракетное вооружение. Это не является секретом. Американские ответственные деятели демонстративно об этом заявляют. Ваши ракеты расположены в Англии, расположены в Италии и нацелены против нас. Ваши ракеты расположены в Турции.

Вас беспокоит Куба. Вы говорите, что беспокоит она потому, что находится на расстоянии от берегов Соединенных Штатов Америки 90 миль по морю. Но ведь Турция рядом с нами, наши часовые прохаживаются и поглядывают один на другого. Вы что же считаете, что вы имеете право требовать безопасности для своей страны и удаления того оружия, которое вы называете наступательным, а за нами этого права не признаете. Вы ведь

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расположили ракетное разрушительное оружие, которое вы называете наступательным, в Турции, буквально под боком у нас. Как же согласуется тогда признание наших равных в военном отношении возможностей с подобными неравными отношениями между нашими великими государствами? Это никак невозможно согласовать.

Это хорошо, г-н Президент, что Вы согласились с тем, чтобы наши представители встретились и начали переговоры, видимо, при посредстве и.о.Генерального секретаря ООН г-на Тана. Следовательно, он в какой-то степени берет на себя роль посредника, и мы считаем, что он может справиться с этой ответственной миссией, если, конечно, каждая сторона, которая втянута в этот конфликт, проявит добрую волю.

Я думаю, что можно было бы быстро завершить конфликт и нормализовать положение, и тогда люди вздохнули бы полной грудью, считая, что государственные деятели, которые облечены ответственностью, обладают трезвым умом и сознанием своей ответственности, умением решать сложные вопросы и не доводить дело до военной катастрофы.

Поэтому я вношу предложение: мы согласны вывезти те средства с Кубы, которые вы считаете наступательными средствами. Согласны это осуществить и заявить в ООН об этом обязательстве. Ваши представители сделают заявление о том, что США со своей стороны, учитывая беспокойство и озабоченность советского государства, вывезут свои аналогичные средства из Турции. Давайте договоримся, какой нужен срок для вас и для нас, чтобы это осуществить. И после этого доверенные лица Совета Безопасности ООН могли бы проконтролировать на месте

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выполнение взятых обязательств. Разумеется, от правительства Кубы и правительства Турции необходимо разрешение этим уполномоченным приехать в их страны и проверить выполнение этого обязательства, которое каждый берет на себя. Видимо, было бы лучше, если бы эти уполномоченные пользовались доверием и доверием Совета Безопасности и нашим с вами — США и Советского Союза, а также Турции и Кубы. Я думаю, что, видимо, не встретит трудностей подобрать таких людей, пользующихся доверием и уважением всех заинтересованных сторон.

Мы, взяв на себя это обязательство, с тем, чтобы дать удовлетворение и надежду народам Кубы и Турции и усилить их уверенность в своей безопасности, сделаем в рамках Совета Безопасности заявление о том, что Советское правительство дает торжественное обещание уважать неприкосновенность границ и суверенитет Турции, не вмешиваться в ее внутренние дела, не вторгаться в Турцию, не предоставлять свою территорию в качестве плацдарма для такого вторжения, а также будет удерживать тех, кто задумал бы осуществить агрессию против Турции как с территории Советского Союза, так и с территории других соседних с Турцией государств.

Такое же заявление в рамках Совета Безопасности даст американское правительство в отношении Кубы. Оно заявит, что США будут уважать неприкосновенность границ Кубы, ее суверенитет, обязуются не вмешиваться в ее внутренние дела, не вторгаться сами и не предоставлять свою территорию в качестве плацдарма для вторжения на Кубу, а также будут удерживать тех, кто задумал бы осуществить агрессию против Кубы как с территории США, так и с территории других соседних с Кубой государств.

SECRET - 5

Конечно, для этого нам надо было бы договориться с вами и дать какой-то срок. Давайте договоримся дать какое-то время, но не затягивать, - 2-3 недели, не больше месяца.

Находящиеся на Кубе средства, о которых Вы говорите и которые, как Вы заявляете, вас беспокоят, находятся в руках советских офицеров. Поэтому какое-либо случайное использование их во вред Соединенным Штатам Америки исключено. Эти средства расположены на Кубе по просьбе кубинского правительства и только в целях обороны. Поэтому если не будет вторжения на Кубу или же нападения на Советский Союз или других наших союзников, то, конечно, эти средства никому не угрожают и не будут угрожать. Ведь они не преследуют цели нападения.

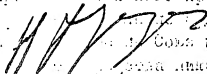
Если Вы согласны, г-н Президент, с моим предложением, тогда мы послали бы наших представителей в Нью-Йорк, в ООН, и дали бы им исчерпывающие инструкции с тем, чтобы быстрее договориться. Если Вы тоже выделите своих людей и дадите им соответствующие инструкции, тогда этот вопрос можно будет быстро решить.

Почему я хотел бы этого? Потому, что весь мир сейчас волнуется и ждет от нас разумных действий. Самой большой радостью для всех народов было бы объявление о нашем соглашении, о ликвидации в корне возникшего конфликта. Я придаю этому соглашению большое значение, поскольку оно могло бы послужить хорошим началом и, в частности, облегчить достижение соглашения о запрещении испытаний ядерного оружия. Вопрос об испытаниях можно было бы решить параллельно, не связывая одно с другим, потому что это - разные вопросы. Но важно договориться по обоим этим вопросам с тем, чтобы сделать людям хороший подарок, обрадовать их вестью также и о том, что достигнуто соглашение о прекращении испытаний ядерного оружия и, таким образом, больше не будет заражаться атмосфера. А наши и Ваши позиции в этом вопросе очень близки.

Всё это, возможно, послужило бы хорошим толчком к отысканию взаимоприемлемых соглашений и по другим спорным вопросам, по которым у нас с Вами идет обмен мнениями. Эти вопросы пока не решены, но они ждут своего неотложного решения, которое расчистило бы международную атмосферу. Мы готовы к этому и

Вот мои предложения, г-н Президент.

С уважением к Вам



Н. ХРУЩЕВ

27 октября 1962 года

**TRANSLATION FOLLOWS**

169  
THE "DREAM SUPER-EXPRESS" IS ENROUTE  
CENTRAL TOKYO TO CENTRAL OSAKA FASTER THAN  
CURRENTLY CONVEY THEM FROM ONE CITY AIR TERMINAL

EW 11:52A

*Review part of document  
prepared last night*

(1)

222  
R68

STATEMENT--TEXT  
MOSCOW, OCT. 27-(REUTERS)--FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF SOVIET  
PREMIER NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV'S MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY:

ESTEEMED MR. PRESIDENT,

I HAVE LEARNED WITH GREAT PLEASURE OF YOUR REPLY TO MR. TRANT  
TO THE EFFECT THAT STEPS WILL BE TAKEN TO INCLUDE CONTACT BETWEEN  
OUR SHIPS AND THUS AVOID IRREDEMIABLE FATEFUL CONSEQUENCES.

THIS REASONABLE STEP ON YOUR PART STRENGTHENS MY BELIEF THAT YOU  
ARE SHOWING CONCERN TO SAFEGUARD PEACE AND I NOTE THIS WITH  
SATISFACTION.

I HAVE ALREADY SAID THAT OUR PEOPLE, OUR GOVERNMENT AND I  
PERSONALLY, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, ARE CONCERNED  
SOLELY THAT OUR COUNTRIES SHOULD DEVELOP AND OCCUPY A WORTHY PLACE  
AMONG ALL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD IN ECONOMIC COMPETITION, IN THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE AND THE ARTS, IN RAISING THE WELL-  
BEING OF THE PEOPLE.

THIS IS THE MOST NOBLE AND NECESSARY FIELD FOR COMPETITION AND  
VICTORS AS WELL AS VANQUISHED WILL ONLY GAIN FROM IT BECAUSE IT  
MEANS PEACE AND INCREASED COMMODITIES FOR THE LIFE AND ENJOYMENT  
OF MAN.

IN YOUR STATEMENT YOU SUPPORTED THE OPINION THAT THE MAIN AIM  
WAS NOT ONLY TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT AND TO TAKE MEASURES TO PREVENT  
CONTACT BETWEEN OUR SHIPS, AND THEREFORE THE DEEPENING OF  
THE CRISIS WHICH MAY AS A RESULT OF SUCH A CONTACT STRIKE THE  
FIRE OF A MILITARY CONFLICT, AFTER WHICH ALL TALKS WOULD BE  
SUPERFLUOUS, BECAUSE OTHER FORCES AND OTHER LAWS WOULD COME INTO  
FORCE, THE LAWS OF WAR.

I AGREE WITH YOU THAT THIS IS ONLY THE FIRST STEP. THE MAIN THING  
THAT MUST BE DONE IS TO NORMALIZE AND STABILIZE THE STATE OF  
PEACE AMONG STATES, AMONG PEOPLES.

(MORE) EW

TRANSFERRED TO HANDWRITING FILE



(2)

FIRST ADD MOSCOW STATEMENT--TEXT X X X PEOPLES.

I UNDERSTAND YOUR CONCERN FOR THE SECURITY OF THE US, MR. PRESIDENT, BECAUSE THIS IS THE FIRST DUTY OF A PRESIDENT. BUT WE ARE WORRIED ABOUT THE SAME QUESTIONS: AND I BEAR THE SAME OBLIGATIONS, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR.

YOU HAVE BEEN WORRIED CONCERNING THE FACT THAT WE HAVE HELPED CUBA WITH WEAPONS, WITH THE AIM TO STRENGTHEN ITS DEFENSIVE CAPACITY--YES, PRECISELY ITS "DEFENSIVE CAPACITY," BECAUSE NO MATTER WHAT WEAPONS IT POSSESSES, CUBA CANNOT EQUAL YOU: BECAUSE THESE ARE DIFFERENT QUANTITIES, ALL THE MORE SO IF ONE TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION THE MODERN MEANS OF EXTERMINATION.

OUR AIM HAS BEEN, AND STILL IS, TO HELP CUBA. AND NO ONE CAN DENY THE HUMANENESS OF OUR MOTIVES, WHICH ARE TO ENABLE CUBA TO LIVES IN PEACE AND TO DEVELOP IN THE WAY ITS PEOPLE DESIRES.

YOU WANT TO MAKE YOUR COUNTRY SAFE. THIS IS UNDERSTANDABLE, BUT CUBA TOO WANTS THE SAME THING. ALL COUNTRIES WANT TO MAKE THEMSELVES SAFE.

BUT NOW ARE WE, THE SOVIET UNION, OUR GOVERNMENT, TO ASSESS YOUR ACTIONS WHICH ARE EXPRESSED IN THE FACT THAT YOU HAVE SURROUNDED WITH MILITARY BASES THE SOVIET UNION: SURROUNDED WITH MILITARY BASES OUR ALLIES: HAVE DISPOSED MILITARY BASES LITERALLY ROUND OUR COUNTRY: HAVE STATIONED YOUR ROCKET ARMANENT THERE? THIS IS NO SECRET. AMERICAN OFFICIALS ARE DEMONSTRATIVELY SAYING THIS.

YOUR ROCKETS ARE SITUATED IN BRITAIN, SITUATED IN ITALY, AND ARE AIMED AGAINST US. YOUR ROCKETS ARE SITUATED IN TURKEY.

YOU ARE WORRIED BY CUBA. YOU SAY THAT IT WORRIES YOU BECAUSE IT IS A DISTANCE OF 90 MILES BY SEA FROM THE COAST OF AMERICA. BUT TURKEY IS NEXT TO US. OUR SENTRIES WALK UP AND DOWN AND LOOK AT EACH OTHER.

DO YOU CONSIDER THEN, THAT YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO DEMAND SECURITY FOR YOUR OWN COUNTRY AND THE REMOVAL OF THOSE WEAPONS WHICH YOU CALL OFFENSIVE AND DO NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THE SAME RIGHT FOR US?  
(MORE)

THIRD ADD MOSCOW STATEMENT--TEXT (R70) X X X SIDE.

IT WOULD BE BETTER THAT THESE AGENTS SHOULD HAVE THE TRUST OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND YOUR TRUST AND MINE, OF THE U.S.

AND THE SOVIET UNION, AS WELL AS OF TURKEY AND CUBA.

I THINK IT WILL BE NOT DIFFICULT TO PICK PEOPLE WHO WOULD ENJOY THE TRUST AND RESPECT OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED.

WE, HAVING TAKEN UPON OURSELVES A PLEDGE TO GIVE SATISFACTION TO THE HOPES OF THE PEOPLES OF CUBA AND TURKEY AND STRENGTHEN THEIR CONFIDENCE IN THEIR SECURITY, WILL MAKE A STATEMENT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO THE EFFECT THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT GIVES A SOLEMN PROMISE TO RESPECT THE INVIOABILITY OF THE FRONTIERS AND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF TURKEY, NOT TO INTERFERE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS, NOT TO INVADE TURKEY, NOT TO MAKE AVAILABLE ITS TERRITORY AS A BRIDGEHEAD FOR SUCH AN INVASION, AND WILL ALSO RESTRAIN THOSE WHO CONTEMPLATE PERPETRATING AGGRESSION AGAINST TURKEY BOTH FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND FROM THE TERRITORY OF OTHER NEIGHBORING STATES OF TURKEY.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE A SIMILAR STATEMENT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN RESPECT OF CUBA.

IT WILL DECLARE THAT THE U.S., MOTIVATED BY THE INVIOABILITY OF CUBA'S FRONTIERS AND SOVEREIGNTY, UNDERTAKES NOT TO INTERFERE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS, ITSELF NOT TO INVADE CUBA OR MAKE ITS TERRITORY AVAILABLE AS A BRIDGEHEAD FOR SUCH AN INVASION, AND WILL ALSO RESTRAIN THOSE WHO MIGHT CONTEMPLATE PERPETRATING AGGRESSION AGAINST CUBA, BOTH FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE U.S. AND FROM THE TERRITORY OF OTHER NEIGHBORING STATES OF CUBA.

(MORE) EWP 11:21A

222  
R77

(4)

FOURTH ADD MOSCOW TEXT (R73) X X X CUBA.

OF COURSE FOR THIS WE WOULD HAVE TO AGREE ON SOME KIND OF TIME LIMIT. LET US AGREE TO SOME PERIOD OF TIME, BUT NOT TO DELAY: TWO OR THREE WEEKS, NOT MORE THAN A MONTH.

THE MEANS SITUATED IN CUBA WHICH YOU SAY AND HAVE STATED ARE PERTURBING YOU, ARE IN THE HANDS OF SOVIET OFFICERS. THEREFORE ANY ACCIDENTAL USE OF THEM TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE U.S. IS EXCLUDED.

THESE MEANS ARE SITUATED IN CUBA AT THE REQUEST OF THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT AND ONLY FOR DEFENSE PURPOSES. THEREFORE IF THERE IS NO INVASION OF CUBA, OR ATTACK ON THE SOVIET UNION OR ANY OTHER OF OUR ALLIES, THEN OF COURSE THESE MEANS ARE NOT AND WILL NOT BE A THREAT TO ANYONE. FOR THEY ARE NOT FOR THE PURPOSES OF ATTACK.

IF YOU ARE AGREEABLE, MR. PRESIDENT, TO MY PROPOSAL, THEN WE WOULD SEND OUR REPRESENTATIVES TO NEW YORK, TO THE U.N., AND WOULD GIVE THEM EXHAUSTIVE INSTRUCTIONS IN ORDER TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT QUICKLY.

IF YOU ALSO CHOOSE YOUR MEN AND GIVE THEM THE CORRESPONDING INSTRUCTIONS, THEN THIS QUESTION CAN BE SOLVED QUICKLY.

WHY DO I WANT THIS? BECAUSE THE WHOLE WORLD IS NOW PERTURBED AND EXPECTS FROM US SENSIBLE ACTION.

THE GREATEST JOY FOR ALL PEOPLES WOULD BE THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF OUR AGREEMENT ON THE RADICAL LIQUIDATION OF THE CONFLICT THAT HAS ARISEN. I ASCRIBE GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THIS AGREEMENT IN SO FAR AS IT COULD SERVE AS A GOOD BEGINNING AND WOULD IN PARTICULAR MAKE IT EASIER TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE BANNING OF THE TESTS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

THE QUESTION OF THE TESTS COULD BE SOLVED IN PARALLEL WITHOUT CONNECTING ONE WITH THE OTHER BECAUSE THEY ARE DIFFERENT ISSUES.

(MORE) EWP

222  
R78

17TH ADD MOSCOW TEXT X X X ISSUES.

HOWEVER, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT AGREEMENT SHOULD BE REACHED ON BOTH THESE ISSUES SO AS TO GIVE THE PEOPLE A GOOD GIFT, TO PLEASE THEM ALSO WITH THE NEWS THAT AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE DISCONTINUANCE OF NUCLEAR TESTS, AND THAT CONSEQUENTLY THE ATMOSPHERE WILL NO LONGER BE POLLUTED. AND OUR AND YOUR POSITIONS ON THIS ISSUE ARE VERY CLOSE.

ALL THIS COULD POSSIBLY SERVE AS A GOOD IMPETUS TOWARDS THE QUEST FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENTS ALSO ON OTHER CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES ON WHICH WE ARE EXCHANGING VIEWS. THESE ISSUES HAVE NOT SO FAR BEEN SOLVED, BUT THEY ARE AWAITING THEIR URGENT SOLUTION WHICH WOULD CLEAR UP THE INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE. WE ARE READY FOR THIS.

THESE, THEN, ARE MY PROPOSALS, MR. PRESIDENT.

RESPECTFULLY YOURS, KHRUSHCHEV, 27TH OCTOBER, 1962.

**TRANSLATION FOLLOWS**



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

November 8, 1962

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. McGEORGE BUNDY  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter to the President  
from Chairman Khrushchev,  
dated October 27, 1962.

Forwarded herewith is the original text and official translation of the letter from Chairman Khrushchev to President Kennedy of October 27. The text of this letter was broadcast by Moscow Radio simultaneously with the receipt of the original by the Embassy in Moscow.

The official translation has been compared with the broadcast version and no differences in substance were noted.

J. T. ROGERS  
William H. Brubeck  
Executive Secretary

Enclosures:

1. Letter to the President  
from Chairman Khrushchev,  
dated October 27.
2. Official translation.

*W.H. Brubeck*  
*11/14/62*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

(TRANSLATION)

LS NO. 46236  
T-94/T-24  
Russian

[Embossed Seal of the USSR]

J. Kennedy, President of the United States

Copy to U Thant, Acting Secretary General of the U.N.

Dear Mr. President,

I have studied with great satisfaction your reply to Mr. Thant concerning measures that should be taken to avoid contact between our vessels and thereby avoid irreparable and fatal consequences. This reasonable step on your part strengthens my belief that you are showing concern for the preservation of peace, which I note with satisfaction.

I have already said that our people, our Government, and I personally, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, are concerned solely with having our country develop and occupy a worthy place among all peoples of the world in economic competition, in the development of culture and the arts, and in raising the living standard of the people. This is the most noble and necessary field for competition, and both the victor and the vanquished will derive only benefit from it, because it means peace and an increase in the means by which man lives and finds enjoyment.

In your statement you expressed the opinion that the main aim was not simply to come to an agreement and take measures to prevent contact between our vessels and consequently a deepening of the crisis which could, as a result of such contacts, spark a military conflict, after which all negotiations would be superfluous because other forces and other laws would then come into play--the laws of war. I agree with you that this is only the first step. The main thing that must be done is to normalize and stabilize the state of peace among states and among peoples.

I understand

I understand your concern for the security of the United States, Mr. President, because this is the primary duty of a President. But we too are disturbed about these same questions; I bear these same obligations as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. You have been alarmed by the fact that we have aided Cuba with weapons, in order to strengthen its defense capability--precisely defense capability--because whatever weapons it may possess, Cuba cannot be equated with you since the difference in magnitude is so great, particularly in view of modern means of destruction. Our aim has been and is to help Cuba, and no one can dispute the humanity of our motives, which are oriented toward enabling Cuba to live peacefully and develop in the way its people desire.

You wish to ensure the security of your country, and this is understandable. But Cuba, too, wants the same thing; all countries want to maintain their security. But how are we, the Soviet Union, our Government, to assess your actions which are expressed in the fact that you have surrounded the Soviet Union with military bases; surrounded our allies with military bases; placed military bases literally around our country; and stationed your missile armaments there? This is no secret. Responsible American personages openly declare that it is so. Your missiles are located in Britain, are located in Italy, and are aimed against us. Your missiles are located in Turkey.

You are disturbed over Cuba. You say that this disturbs you because it is 90 miles by sea from the coast of the United States of America. But Turkey adjoins us; our sentries patrol back and forth and see each other. Do you consider, then, that you have the right to demand security for your own country and the removal of the weapons you call offensive, but do not accord the same right to us? You have placed destructive missile weapons, which you call offensive, in Turkey, literally next to us. How then can recognition of our equal military capacities be reconciled with such unequal relations between our great states? This is irreconcilable.

It is good, Mr. President, that you have agreed to have our representatives meet and begin talks, apparently through the mediation of U Thant,

Acting



Acting Secretary General of the United Nations. Consequently, he to some degree has assumed the role of a mediator and we consider that he will be able to cope with this responsible mission, provided, of course, that each party drawn into this controversy displays good will.

I think it would be possible to end the controversy quickly and normalize the situation, and then the people could breathe more easily, considering that statesmen charged with responsibility are of sober mind and have an awareness of their responsibility combined with the ability to solve complex questions and not bring things to a military catastrophe.

I therefore make this proposal: We are willing to remove from Cuba the means which you regard as offensive. We are willing to carry this out and to make this pledge in the United Nations. Your representatives will make a declaration to the effect that the United States, for its part, considering the uneasiness and anxiety of the Soviet State, will remove its analogous means from Turkey. Let us reach agreement as to the period of time needed by you and by us to bring this about. And, after that, persons entrusted by the United Nations Security Council could inspect on the spot the fulfillment of the pledges made. Of course, the permission of the Governments of Cuba and of Turkey is necessary for the entry into those countries of these representatives and for the inspection of the fulfillment of the pledge made by each side. Of course it would be best if these representatives enjoyed the confidence of the Security Council, as well as yours and mine--both the United States and the Soviet Union--and also that of Turkey and Cuba. I do not think it would be difficult to select people who would enjoy the trust and respect of all parties concerned.

We, in making this pledge, in order to give satisfaction and hope of the peoples of Cuba and Turkey and to strengthen their confidence in their security, will make a statement within the framework of the Security Council to the effect that the Soviet Government gives a solemn promise to respect the inviolability of the borders and sovereignty of Turkey, not to interfere in its internal affairs, not to invade Turkey, not to make available our

territory as a bridgehead for such an invasion, and that it would also restrain those who contemplate committing aggression against Turkey, either from the territory of the Soviet Union or from the territory of Turkey's other neighboring states.

The United States Government will make a similar statement within the framework of the Security Council regarding Cuba. It will declare that the United States will respect the inviolability of Cuba's borders and its sovereignty, will pledge not to interfere in its internal affairs, not to invade Cuba itself or make its territory available as a bridgehead for such an invasion, and will also restrain those who might contemplate committing aggression against Cuba, either from the territory of the United States or from the territory of Cuba's other neighboring states.

Of course, for this we would have to come to an agreement with you and specify a certain time limit. Let us agree to some period of time, but without unnecessary delay--say within two or three weeks, not longer than a month.

The means situated in Cuba, of which you speak and which disturb you, as you have stated, are in the hands of Soviet officers. Therefore, any accidental use of them to the detriment of the United States is excluded. These means are situated in Cuba at the request of the Cuban Government and are only for defense purposes. Therefore, if there is no invasion of Cuba, or attack on the Soviet Union or any of our other allies, then of course these means are not and will not be a threat to anyone. For they are not for purposes of attack.

If you are agreeable to my proposal, Mr. President, then we would send our representatives to New York, to the United Nations, and would give them comprehensive instructions in order that an agreement may be reached more quickly. If you also select your people and give them the corresponding instructions, then this question can be quickly resolved.

Why would I like to do this? Because the whole world is now apprehensive and expects sensible actions of us. The greatest joy for all

peoples would be the announcement of our agreement and of the eradication of the controversy that has arisen. I attach great importance to this agreement in so far as it could serve as a good beginning and could in particular make it easier to reach agreement on banning nuclear weapons tests. The question of the tests could be solved in parallel fashion, without connecting one with the other, because these are different issues. However, it is important that agreement be reached on both these issues so as to present humanity with a fine gift, and <sup>to</sup> also gladden it with the news that agreement has been reached on the cessation of nuclear tests and that consequently the atmosphere will no longer be poisoned. Our position and yours on this issue are very close together.

All of this could possibly serve as a good impetus toward the finding of mutually acceptable agreements on other controversial issues on which you and I have been exchanging views. These issues have so far not been resolved, but they are awaiting urgent solution, which would clear up the international atmosphere. We are prepared for this.

These are my proposals, Mr. President.

Respectfully yours,

[s] N. Khrushchev

N. Khrushchev

October 27, 1962

**TRANSLATION FOLLOWS**

(51)

No. 8

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF  
LETTER FROM PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV TO  
PPRESIDENT KENNEDY

October 27, 1962

Esteemed Mr. President:

I have learned with great pleasure of your reply to Mr. Thant to the effect that steps will be taken to exclude contact between our ships and thus avoid irremediable fatal consequences.

This reasonable step on your part strengthens my belief that you are showing concern to safeguard peace and I note this with satisfaction.

"I have already said that our people, our Government and I personally, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, are concerned solely that our countries should develop and occupy a worthy place among all peoples of the world in economic competition, in the development of culture and the arts, in raising the well being of the people. This is the most noble and necessary field for competition and victors as well as vanquished will only gain from it because it means peace and increased commodities for the life and enjoyment of man.

In your statement you supported the opinion that the main aim was, not only to come to an agreement and to take measures to prevent contact between our ships, and therefore the deepening of the crisis which may as a result of such a contact strike the fire of a military conflict, after which all talks would be superfluous, because other forces and other laws would come into force, the laws of war.

I agree with you that this is only the first step. The main thing that must be done is to normalize and stabilize the state of peace among states, among peoples.

I understand your concern for the security of the U.S.A. Mr. President, because this is the first duty of a President. But we are worried about the same questions: and I bear the same obligations, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

You have been worried concerning the fact that we have helped Cuba with weapons, with the aim to strengthen its defensive capacity -- yes, precisely its "defensive capacity," because no matter what weapons it possesses, Cuba cannot equal you: because these are different quantities, all the more so if one takes into consideration the modern means of extermination.

87- DOS 02135 PB

Our aim

Our aim has been, and still is, to help Cuba. And no one can deny the humaneness of our motives, which are to enable Cuba to live in peace and to develop in the way its people desires.

You want to make your country safe. This is understandable, but Cuba too wants the same thing. All countries want to make themselves safe.

But how are we, the Soviet Union, our Government, to assess your actions which are expressed in the fact that you have surrounded with military bases the Soviet Union; surrounded with military bases our allies; have disposed military bases literally round our country; have stationed your rocket armament there? This is no secret. American officials are demonstratively saying this.

Your rockets are situated in Britain, situated in Italy and are aimed against us. Your rockets are situated in Turkey. You are worried by Cuba. You say that it worries you because it is a distance of 90 miles by sea from the coast of America, but Turkey is next to us. Our sentries walk up and down and look at each other. Do you consider then that you have the right to demand security for your own country and the removal of those weapons which you call offensive and do not acknowledge the same right for us?

You have placed destructive rocket weapons, which you call offensive, in Turkey literally at our elbows. Now then does the admission of our equal military capacities tally with such unequal relations between our great states? This cannot be made to tally in any way.

It is well, Mr. President, that you have agreed to our representatives meeting and beginning talks, apparently under the mediation of the UN Acting Secretary-General U Thant. Hence he, to some degree, assumed the role of a mediator and we consider if he is able to cope with this responsible mission provided of course, that each side drawn into this conflict shows good will.

I think that it would be possible to end the conflict quickly and to normalize the situation, and then people would breathe more easily, considering that the responsible statesmen have good sense and an awareness of their responsibility, and have the ability to solve complex questions and not bring things to a catastrophe of war.

I therefore make this proposal: We agree to remove from Cuba those means which you regard as offensive means; we agree to carry this out and make a pledge in the U.N. Your representatives will make a declaration to the effect that the U.S.A., on its part, considering the uneasiness and anxiety of the Soviet State, will remove its similar means from Turkey.

Let us reach agreement as to the span of time needed for you and for us to bring this about. And after that persons entrusted by the U.N. Security Council may check on the spot the fulfillment of the pledges made.

Of course, the authorization of the Governments of Cuba and of Turkey is necessary for the entry into those countries of these agents and for the inspection of the fulfillment of the pledge made by either side.

It would be better that these agents should have the trust of the Security Council, and your trust and mine, of the USA and the Soviet Union, as well as of Turkey and Cuba.

I think it will not be difficult to pick people who would enjoy the trust and respect of all parties concerned.

We, having taken upon ourselves a pledge to give satisfaction to the hopes of the peoples of Cuba and Turkey and strengthen their confidence in their security, will make a statement within the framework of the Security Council to the effect that the Soviet Government gives a solemn promise to respect the inviolability of the frontiers and the sovereignty of Turkey, not to interfere in its internal affairs, not to invade Turkey, not to make available its territory as a bridgehead for such an invasion, and will also restrain those who contemplate perpetrating aggression against Turkey both from the territory of the Soviet Union and from the territory of other neighboring states of Turkey.

The U. S. Government will make a similar statement within the framework of the Security Council in respect of Cuba. It will declare that the USA, motivated by the inviolability of Cuba's frontiers and sovereignty, undertakes not to interfere in its internal affairs, itself not to invade Cuba or make its territory available as a bridgehead for such an invasion, and will also restrain those who might contemplate perpetrating aggression against Cuba, both from the territory of the USA and from the territory of other neighboring states of Cuba.

Of course for this we would have to agree on some kind of time limit, let us agree to some period of time, but not to delay—two or three weeks not more than a month.

The means situated in Cuba which you say and have stated are perturbing you, are in the hands of Soviet officers. Therefore any accidental use of them to the detriment of the U.S.A. is excluded.

These means are situated in Cuba at the request of the Cuban Government and only for defense purposes. Therefore if there is no invasion of Cuba, or attack on the Soviet Union or any other of our allies, then of course these means are not and will not be a threat to anyone. For they are not for the purpose of attack.

If you are agreeable, Mr. President, to my proposal, then we would send our representatives to New York, to the U.N., and would give them exhaustive instructions in order to come to an agreement quickly. If you also choose your men and give them the corresponding instructions, then this question can be solved quickly.

Why do I want this? Because the whole world is now perturbed and expects from us sensible action.

The greatest joy for all peoples would be the announcement of our agreement on the radical liquidation of the conflict that has arisen. I ascribe great importance to this agreement insofar as it could serve as a good beginning and would in particular make it easier to reach agreement on the banning of the tests of nuclear weapons.

The question of the tests could be solved in parallel without connecting one with the other because they are different issues.

However, it is important that agreement should be reached on both these issues so as to give the people a good gift, to please them also with the news that agreement has been reached on the discontinuance of nuclear tests and that consequently the atmosphere will no longer be polluted. And our and your positions on this issue are very close.

All this could possibly serve as a good impetus towards the quest for mutually acceptable agreements also on other controversial issues on which we are exchanging views. These issues have not so far been solved, but they are awaiting their urgent solution which would clear up the international atmosphere. We are ready for this.

These, then, are my proposals, Mr. President.

Respectfully yours, KHRUSCHEV, October 27th, 1962.



**TRANSLATION FOLLOWS**

2

FBI 49

TEXT OF KHRUSHCHEV MESSAGE TO KENNEDY

MOSCOW DOMESTIC SERVICE IN RUSSIAN 1430 27 OCT 62 L

(TEXT) ESTEEMED MR. PRESIDENT: I HAVE ACQUAINTED MYSELF WITH MUCH SATISFACTION WITH YOUR REPLY TO U THANT TO THE EFFECT THAT STEPS WILL BE TAKEN TO EXCLUDE CONTACT BETWEEN OUR SHIPS AND THUS AVOID IRREMEDABLE FATEFUL CONSEQUENCES. THIS REASONABLE STEP ON YOUR PART STRENGTHENS MY (BELIEF) THAT YOU ARE SHOWING CONCERN TO SAFEGUARD PEACE, AND I NOTE THIS WITH SATISFACTION.

I HAVE ALREADY SAID THAT OUR PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT AND I PERSONALLY, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, ARE CONCERNED SOLELY THAT OUR COUNTRIES SHOULD DEVELOP AND OCCUPY A WORTHY PLACE AMONG PEOPLE OF THE WORLD IN ECONOMIC COMPETITION, THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE AND ARTS, AND THE RAISING OF THE WELL-BEING OF PEOPLE. THIS IS THE MOST NOBLE AND NECESSARY FIELD FOR COMPETITION, AND VICTORS AND VANQUISHED WILL ONLY (WORD INDISTINCT) FROM IT, BECAUSE THIS MEANS PEACE AND INCREASED COMMODITIES FOR THE LIFE AND ENJOYMENT OF MAN.

IN YOUR STATEMENT, YOU SUPPORTED THE OPINION THAT THE MAIN AIM WAS NOT ONLY TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT AND TAKE MEASURES TO PREVENT CONTACT BETWEEN OUR SHIPS--AND THEREFORE THE DEEPENING OF THE CRISIS WHICH MAY AS A RESULT OF SUCH A CONTACT STRIKE THE F RE OF A MILITARY CONFLICT AFTER WHICH ALL TALKS WOULD BE SUPERFLUOUS, BECAUSE OTHER FORCES AND LAWS WOULD COME INTO FORCE--THE LAWS OF WAR. I AGREE WITH YOU THAT THIS IS ONLY THE FIRST STEP. THE MAIN THING THAT MUST BE DONE IS TO NORMALIZE AND STABILIZE THE STATE OF PEACE AMONG STATES AND PEOPLE.

I UNDERSTAND YOUR CONCERN FOR THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES, MR. PRESIDENT, BECAUSE THIS IS THE FIRST DUTY OF A PRESIDENT. HOWEVER, WE ARE WORRIED ABOUT THE SAME QUESTIONS, AND I BEAR THE SAME OBLIGATIONS AS CHAIRMAN OF THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

YOU HAVE BEEN WORRIED CONCERNING THE FACT THAT WE HAVE HELPED CUBA WITH WEAPONS WITH THE AIM OF STRENGTHENING ITS DEFENSIVE CAPACITY--YES, PRECISELY ITS "DEFENSIVE CAPACITY"--BECAUSE NO MATTER WHAT WEAPONS IT POSSESSES, CUBA CANNOT EQUAL YOU. THESE ARE DIFFERENT QUANTITIES, ALL THE MORE SO IF ONE TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION THE MODERN MEANS OF EXTERMINATION.

OUR AIM HAS BEEN AND STILL IS TO HELP CUBA. AND NO ONE CAN DENY THE HUMANENESS OF OUR MOTIVES, WHICH ARE TO ENABLE CUBA TO LIVE IN PEACE AND DEVELOP IN THE WAY ITS PEOPLE DESIRE.

(MORE)

27 OCT 1103A MLH/HM

FBI 51

FIRST ADD 49 (TEXT KHRUSHCHEV MESSAGE TO KENNEDY)

X X X ITS PEOPLE DESIRE

(CONTINUING TEXT) YOU WANT TO MAKE YOUR COUNTRY SAFE. THIS IS UNDERSTANDABLE, BUT CUBA, TOO, WANTS THE SAME THING. ALL COUNTRIES WANT TO MAKE THEMSELVES SAFE.

BUT NOW ARE WE, THE SOVIET UNION AND OUR GOVERNMENT, TO ASSESS YOUR ACTIONS WHICH ARE EXPRESSED IN THE FACT THAT YOU HAVE SURROUNDED THE SOVIET UNION WITH MILITARY BASES, SURROUNDED OUR ALLIES WITH MILITARY BASES, LITERALLY DISPOSED MILITARY BASES AROUND OUR COUNTRY, AND STATIONED YOUR ROCKET ARMAMENTS THERE? THIS IS NOT A SECRET. AMERICAN OFFICIALS ARE DEMONSTRATIVELY SAYING THIS. YOUR ROCKETS ARE SITUATED IN BRITAIN AND ITALY AND AIMED AGAINST US. YOUR ROCKETS ARE SITUATED IN TURKEY.

YOU ARE WORRIED BY CUBA. YOU SAY THAT IT WORRIES YOU BECAUSE IT IS A DISTANCE OF 90 MILES BY SEA FROM THE AMERICAN COAST. HOWEVER, TURKEY IS NEXT TO US. YOUR SENTRIES WALK UP AND DOWN AND LOOK AT EACH OTHER. WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER THEN--THAT YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO DEMAND SECURITY FOR YOUR OWN COUNTRY AND THE REMOVAL OF THOSE WEAPONS WHICH YOU CALL OFFENSIVE AND DO NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THE SAME RIGHT FOR US?

YOU HAVE PLACED DESTRUCTIVE ROCKET WEAPONS, WHICH YOU CALL OFFENSIVE, IN TURKEY, LITERALLY AT OUR ELBOW. HOW THEN DOES ADMISSION OF OUR EQUAL MILITARY CAPACITIES TALLY WITH SUCH UNEQUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR GREAT STATES? THIS CANNOT BE MADE TO AGREE IN ANY WAY.

IT IS WELL, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT YOU HAVE AGREED TO OUR REPRESENTATIVES MEETING AND BEGINNING TALKS, APPARENTLY THROUGH THE INTERMEDIARY OF U.N. ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL U THANT. HENCE HE, TO SOME DEGREE, ASSUMES THE ROLE OF A MEDIATOR, AND WE CONSIDER THAT HE IS ABLE TO COPE WITH THIS RESPONSIBLE MISSION IF, OF COURSE, EACH SIDE WHICH IS DRAWN INTO THIS CONFLICT SHOWS GOOD WILL. I THINK THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO END THE CONFLICT QUICKLY AND NORMALIZE THE SITUATION, AND THEN PEOPLE WOULD BREATHE MORE EASILY, CONSIDERING THAT THE STATESMEN WHO ARE VESTED WITH RESPONSIBILITY, HAVE GOOD SENSE, AN AWARENESS OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITY, AND THE ABILITY TO SOLVE COMPLEX QUESTIONS AND NOT BRING THINGS TO THE CATASTROPHE OF WAR.

I THEREFORE MAKE THIS PROPOSAL. WE AGREE TO REMOVE FROM CUBA THOSE MEANS WHICH YOU REGARD AS OFFENSIVE MEANS. WE AGREE TO CARRY THIS OUT AND DECLARE THIS PLEDGE IN THE UNITED NATIONS. YOUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL MAKE A DECLARATION TO THE EFFECT THAT THE

AT EACH OTHER. WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER THEN-- THAT YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO DEMAND SECURITY FOR YOUR OWN COUNTRY AND THE REMOVAL OF THOSE WEAPONS WHICH YOU CALL OFFENSIVE AND DO NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THE SAME RIGHT FOR US?

YOU HAVE PLACED DESTRUCTIVE ROCKET WEAPONS, WHICH YOU CALL OFFENSIVE, IN TURKEY, LITERALLY AT OUR ELBOW. HOW THEN DOES THE ADMISSION OF OUR EQUAL MILITARY CAPACITIES TALLY WITH SUCH UNEQUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR GREAT STATES? THIS CANNOT BE MADE TO AGREE IN ANY WAY.

IT IS WELL, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT YOU HAVE AGREED TO OUR REPRESENTATIVES MEETING AND BEGINNING TALKS, APPARENTLY THROUGH THE INTERMEDIARY OF U.N. ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL U THANT. HENCE HE, TO SOME DEGREE, ASSUMES THE ROLE OF A MEDIATOR, AND WE CONSIDER THAT HE IS ABLE TO COPE WITH THIS RESPONSIBLE MISSION IF, OF COURSE, EACH SIDE WHICH IS DRAWN INTO THIS CONFLICT SHOWS GOOD WILL. I THINK THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO END THE CONFLICT QUICKLY AND NORMALIZE THE SITUATION, AND THEN PEOPLE WOULD BREATHE MORE EASILY, CONSIDERING THAT THE STATESMEN WHO ARE VESTED WITH RESPONSIBILITY, HAVE GOOD SENSE, AN AWARENESS OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITY, AND THE ABILITY TO SOLVE COMPLEX QUESTIONS AND NOT BRING THINGS TO THE CATASTROPHE OF WAR.

I THEREFORE MAKE THIS PROPOSAL. WE AGREE TO REMOVE FROM CUBA THOSE MEANS WHICH YOU REGARD AS OFFENSIVE MEANS. WE AGREE TO CARRY THIS OUT AND DECLARE THIS PLEDGE IN THE UNITED NATIONS. YOUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL MAKE A DECLARATION TO THE EFFECT THAT THE UNITED STATES ON ITS PART, CONSIDERING THE UNEASINESS AND ANXIETY OF THE SOVIET STATE, WILL REMOVE ITS ANALOGOUS MEANS FROM TURKEY.

LET US REACH AGREEMENT AS TO THE SPAN OF TIME NEEDED FOR YOU AND US TO ACHIEVE THIS. AFTER THIS, PERSONS ENJOYING THE CONFIDENCE OF THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL MIGHT CHECK ON-THE-SPOT FULFILLMENT OF THE PLEDGES ASSUMED. OF COURSE, THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF CUBA AND TURKEY ARE NECESSARY FOR ENTRY INTO THOSE COUNTRIES OF THESE PLENIPOTENTIARIES AND FOR INSPECTOR OF FULFILLMENT OF THE PLEDGE ASSUMED BY EITHER SIDE.

IT WOULD EVIDENTLY BE BETTER IF THESE PLENIPOTENTIARIES WOULD HAVE THE TRUST OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND YOUR TRUST AND MINE--OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION--AS WELL AS OF TURKEY AND CUBA. I THINK IT WILL NOT BE DIFFICULT TO PICK SUCH PEOPLE WHO WOULD ENJOY THE TRUST AND RESPECT OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED.

(MORE)

AND LAST AT 19 (TEXT OF KHRUSHCHEV MESSAGE TO KENNEDY)

X X X ALL PARTIES CONCERNED.

(CONCLUDING TEXT) HAVING TAKEN UPON OURSELVES A PLEDGE TO GIVE SATISFACTION TO THE HOPES OF THE PEOPLES OF CUBA AND TURKEY AND STRENGTHEN THEIR CONFIDENCE IN THEIR SECURITY, WE WILL MAKE A STATEMENT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO THE EFFECT THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT MAKES A SOLEMN PROMISE TO RESPECT THE INVIOABILITY OF THE FRONTIERS AND SOVEREIGNTY OF TURKEY, NOT TO INTERFERE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS, NOT TO INVADE TURKEY, NOT TO MAKE ITS TERRITORY AVAILABLE AS A BRIDGEHEAD FOR SUCH AN INVA- ON, AG- ON, INST TURKEY BOTH FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND FROM THE TERRITORY OF OTHER NEIGHBOR STATES OF TURKEY.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE A SIMILAR STATEMENT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN RESPECT TO CUBA. IT WILL DECLARE THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL RESPECT THE INVIOABILITY OF THE FRONTIERS OF CUBA AND ITS SOVEREIGNTY, UNDERTAKES NOT TO INTERFERE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS, NOT TO INVADE, AND NOT TO MAKE ITS TERRITORY AVAILABLE AS A BRIDGEHEAD FOR SUCH AN INVASION OF CUBA, AND WILL ALSO RESTRAIN THOSE WHO MIGHT CONTEMPLATE PERPETRATING AGGRESSION AGAINST CUBA, BOTH FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES AND FROM THE TERRITORY OF OTHER NEIGHBORING STATES OF CUBA.

OF COURSE, FOR THIS WE WOULD HAVE TO AGREE TO SOME KIND OF TIME LIMIT. LET US AGREE TO SOME PERIOD OF TIME, BUT NOT TO DELAY--TWO OR THREE WEEKS; NOT MORE THAN A MONTH.

THE MEANS SITUATED IN CUBA WHICH YOU HAVE STATED ARE PERTURB NO YOU ARE IN THE HANDS OF SOVIET OFFICERS. THEREFORE, ANY ACCIDENTAL USE OF THEM TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS EXCLUDED. THESE MEANS ARE SITUATED IN CUBA AT THE REQUEST OF THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT AND ARE ONLY FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES. THEREFORE IF THERE IS NO INVASION OF CUBA OR ATTACK ON THE SOVIET UNION OR ANY OTHER OF OUR ALLIES, THEN OF COURSE THESE MEANS ARE NOT AND WILL NOT BE A THREAT TO ANYONE, FOR THEY ARE NOT THERE FOR THE PURPOSES OF ATTACK.

IF YOU ARE AGREEABLE, MR. PRESIDENT, TO MY PROPOSAL, THEN WE WOULD SEND OUR REPRESENTATIVES TO NEW YORK, TO THE UNITED NATIONS, AND WOULD GIVE THEM EXHAUSTIVE INSTRUCTIONS IN ORDER TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT QUICKLY. IF YOU ALSO CHOOSE YOUR MEN AND GIVE THEM THE CORRESPONDING INSTRUCTIONS, THEN THIS QUESTION CAN BE SOLVED QUICKLY.

WHY SHOULD I WANT THIS? BECAUSE THE WHOLE WORLD IS NOW PERTURBED AND EXPECTS SENSIBLE ACTION FROM US.

THE GREATEST JOY FOR ALL PEOPLES WOULD BE ANNOUNCEMENT OF OUR AGREEMENT ON THE RADICAL LIQUIDATION OF THE CONFLICT THAT HAS ARISEN. I ASCRIBE GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THIS AGREEMENT INsofar AS IT COULD SERVE AS A GOOD BEGINNING AND WOULD, IN PARTICULAR, MAKE IT EASIER TO REACH AGREEMENT ON REMAINING OR TESTS OR

TIME LIMIT, LET US AGREE TO SOME PERIOD OF TIME, BUT NOT TO  
DELAY--TWO OR THREE WEEKS, NOT MORE THAN A MONTH.

THE MEANS SITUATED IN CUBA WHICH YOU HAVE STATED ARE PERTURB NO  
YOU ARE IN THE HANDS OF SOVIET OFFICERS. THEREFORE, ANY ACCIDENTAL  
USE OF THEM TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS EXCLUDED.  
THESE MEANS ARE SITUATED IN CUBA AT THE REQUEST OF THE CUBAN  
GOVERNMENT AND ARE ONLY FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES. THEREFORE IF THERE  
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OF OUR ALLIES, THEN OF COURSE THESE MEANS ARE NOT AND WILL NOT BE  
A THREAT TO ANYONE, FOR THEY ARE NOT THERE FOR THE PURPOSES OF ATTACK.

IF YOU ARE AGREEABLE, MR. PRESIDENT, TO MY PROPOSAL, THEN WE  
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AND WOULD GIVE THEM EXHAUSTIVE INSTRUCTIONS IN ORDER TO COME TO AN  
AGREEMENT QUICKLY. IF YOU ALSO CHOOSE YOUR MEN AND GIVE THEM THE  
CORRESPONDING INSTRUCTIONS, THEN THIS QUESTION CAN BE SOLVED  
QUICKLY.

WHY SHOULD I WANT THIS? BECAUSE THE WHOLE WORLD IS NOW PERTURBED  
AND EXPECTS SENSIBLE ACTION FROM US.

THE GREATEST JOY FOR ALL PEOPLES WOULD BE ANNOUNCEMENT OF OUR  
AGREEMENT ON THE RADICAL LIQUIDATION OF THE CONFLICT THAT HAS  
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COULD SERVE AS A GOOD BEGINNING AND WOULD, IN PARTICULAR, MAKE IT  
EASIER TO REACH AGREEMENT ON BANNING OF TESTS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.  
THE QUESTION OF TESTS COULD BE SOLVED IN PARALLEL, WITHOUT CONNECT ON  
ONE WITH THE OTHER, BECAUSE THEY ARE DIFFERENT ISSUES.

HOWEVER, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT AGREEMENT BE REACHED ON BOTH  
THESE ISSUES TO PRESENT THE PEOPLE A GOOD GIFT, TO PLEASE THEM  
ALSO WITH THE NEWS THAT AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE  
DISCONTINUATION OF NUCLEAR TESTS AND THAT CONSEQUENTLY THE ATMOSPHERE  
WILL NO LONGER BE POLLUTED. OUR AND YOUR POSITIONS ON THIS ISSUE  
ARE VERY CLOSE.

ALL THIS COULD POSSIBLY SERVE AS A GOOD IMPETUS TOWARD SEEKING  
MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENTS ALSO ON OTHER CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES  
ON WHICH WE ARE EXCHANGING VIEWS. THESE ISSUES HAVE NOT SO FAR  
BEEN SOLVED, BUT THEY ARE AWAITING URGENT SOLUTION WHICH WOULD  
CLEAR THE INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE. WE ARE READY FOR THIS.

THESE, THEN, ARE MY PROPOSALS, MR. PRESIDENT.

RESPECTFULLY YOURS, KHRUSHCHEV.

**TRANSLATION FOLLOWS**

CHAIRMAN KHRUSHCHEV'S MESSAGE  
OF OCTOBER 27, 1962 <sup>22</sup>

Informal Translation <sup>23</sup>

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It is with great satisfaction that I studied your reply to Mr. U Thant on the adoption of measures in order to avoid contact of our ships and thus avoid irreparable fatal consequences. This reasonable step on your part persuades me that you are showing solicitude for the preservation of peace, and I note this with satisfaction.

I have already said that the only concern of our people and government and myself personally as chairman of the Council of Ministers is to develop our country and have it hold a worthy place among all people of the world in economic competition, advance of culture and arts, and the rise in people's living standards. This is the loftiest and most necessary field for competition which will only benefit both the winner and loser, because this benefit is peace and an increase in the facilities by means of which man lives and obtains pleasure.

In your statement, you said that the main aim lies not only in reaching agreement and adopting measures to avert contact of our ships, and, consequently, a deepening of the crisis, which because of this contact can spark off the fire of military conflict after which any talks would be superfluous because other forces and other laws would begin to operate—the laws of war. I agree with you that this is only a first step. The main thing is to normalize and stabilize the situation in the world between states and between people.

I understand your concern for the security of the United States, Mr. President, because this is the first duty of the president. However, these questions are also uppermost in our minds. The same duties rest with me as chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. You have been worried over our assisting Cuba with arms designed to strengthen its defensive potential—precisely defensive potential—because Cuba, no matter what weapons it had, could not compare with you since these are different dimensions, the more so given up-to-date means of extermination. Our purpose has been and is to help Cuba, and no one can challenge the humanity of our motives aimed at allowing Cuba to live peacefully and develop as its people desire.

You want to relieve your country from danger and this is understandable. However, Cuba also wants this. All countries want to relieve themselves

from danger. But how can we, the Soviet Union and our government, assess your actions which, in effect, mean that you have surrounded the Soviet Union with military bases, surrounded our allies with military bases, set up military bases literally around our country, and stationed your rocket troops at them? This is no secret. High-placed American officials demonstratively declare this. Your rockets are stationed in Britain and in Italy and point at us. Your rockets are stationed in Turkey.

You are worried over Cuba. You say that it worries you because it lies at a distance of 90 miles across the sea from the shores of the United States. However, Turkey lies next to us. Our sentinels are pacing up and down and watching each other. Do you believe that you have the right to demand security for your country and the removal of such weapons that you qualify as offensive, while not recognizing this right for us? You have stationed devastating rocket weapons, which you call offensive, in Turkey literally right next to us. How then does recognition of our equal military possibilities tally with such unequal relations between our great states? This does not tally at all.

It is good, Mr. President, that you agreed for our representatives to meet and begin talks, apparently with the participation of U.N. Acting Secretary General U Thant. Consequently, to some extent, he assumes the role of intermediary, and we believe that he can cope with the responsible mission if, of course, every side that is drawn into this conflict shows good will.

I think that one could rapidly eliminate the conflict and normalize the situation. Then people would have a sigh of relief, considering that the statesmen who bear the responsibility have sober minds, an awareness of their responsibility, and an ability to solve complicated problems and not allow matters to slide to the disaster of war.

This is why I make this proposal: We agree to remove those weapons from Cuba which you regard as offensive weapons. We agree to do this and to state this commitment in the United Nations. Your representatives will make a statement to the effect that the United States, on its part, bearing in mind the anxiety and concern of the Soviet state, will evacuate its analogous weapons from Turkey. Let us reach an understanding on what time you and we need to put this into effect. After this, representatives of the U.N. Security Council could contrain-on-the-spot the fulfillment of these commitments. Of course, it is necessary that the Governments of Cuba and Turkey would allow these representative to come to their countries and check fulfillment of this commitment, which each side undertakes. Apparently, it would be better if these representative enjoyed the trust of the Security Council and ourselves the United States and the Soviet Union—as we as of Turkey and Cuba. I think that it will n-

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